1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

888 young. Once she, too, had liked to have her calf look round and full.

[432] [476] "Will you exchange this bottle of palm oil for tobacco?" she asked, showing her empty clay pipe.

She came in, saying she would like to rest, and began unfastening her top tunic so that she might make a pad of

[784] it on which to sit down on the ground, for the earth spirits forbid women who had reached puberty to sit upon the bare earth. In her second tunic, somewhat fresher than the top one, she stood hesitating, looking about her for a place to sit down, until we brought her a carved stool we had bought the day before. Instead of putting on the top pangi again, she used it to cover her knees.

[576] "*Bak'a muye*," she said, "white woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit."

And sitting there, examining us and our belongings, she muttered her comments about our appearance and dress as she smoked, and muttering she swayed slightly, until the swaying rhythm seemed to bring a melody into her head, and she began to sing.

[533] "*The American Bak'a*
Have come from far,
American koni
Has brought them
To the Saramacca River,
To the Saramacca people;
They must not sicken
They must not die."

While the men on the shore talked and called upon their gods to keep them free, the woman rocked and sang this invocation for our safety, forgetting for the moment that we were whites, whom the ancestors hated.

"You have so much wealth," she said to the white man, looking about her at our provision boxes, "you must have many wives."

And back again she went to her song, repeating the words over and over, until seeing people approach she rose slowly and went back to the river where her rice was drying.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

7

The next day was our last among the Saramacca people. Bayo came to us early to help with the packing. He was apparently none the worse for his seizure and, as he worked, we could tell from his manner how release had come to him and how the tension we had noticed the past few days had left him.

On his body were no marks. His mouth showed no cuts where the glass was bitten off and chewed. When we told him about the glass, he knew nothing of it. Had he not known about this eating of glass, he might well have doubted our word, for when we examined his lips and palate and tongue, not even a scratch showed.

"What did you drum last night, Bayo?"

"When, before the obia came to me?"

He remembered nothing after he had leaped from the improvised apinti to run into the bush.

"Not when you drummed apinti, but when you came back here and took the tumao to the river."

"I don't remember. Did I do that?"

8

Despite the early hour we had to leave in order to catch the weekly train for the coast, the boats of our friends began to be seen off the landing place as they came to say their farewells. The good woman Tita, whom they called Mother Snake behind her back, was the first to arrive. She walked slowly up from the river bank, pipe in mouth, a pot on her head, and one in each hand. The pots held obias which, she said, were made especially for us, to give us great powers in our own land—one to keep us safe from the ghosts of those we had wronged; one to guard us against the acts of the unfriendly living; one to make all those from whom we sought advantage "love" us.

Sedefo's younger wife came with her child on her back to collect whatever tin cans were about, and some gift for the child when it wakened, knowing that something was

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Before starting, the Djukas take a sniff of tobacco. They 276 ●
prefer snuffing it to smoking. They suck up their wide brown nostrils a dark liquid made from tobacco leaf soaked in water, to which a little wood-ash has been added. Each man carries a small supply, in a calabash gourd or tiny tin can. Before taking a sniff they put their fingers in the gourd and knead the leaf to get out all the juice. Then a little is poured out in the palm of the hand and snuffed up. They make a wry face at it, shaking their heads violently and spitting.

They pass it to the bahkra with a sly smile.

"Wannee?"

"No, no, no. *Me dissee no lubee; gran danke!*" which means, "I don't like this; many thanks!"

Late in the afternoon we come upon the camp of some 314
balata bleeders. It is deserted. There is an unforgettable sour stench from the last fermenting sap. For a while it is sickening and overwhelms every other odour. The balata bleeders are usually British Guiana Negroes, or Djukas trained by them, who go through the jungle tapping the sap from wild rubber trees. They produce sheets of a crude rubber, known as balata, which are traded in the white settlements of Demerara or Paramaribo. The chief industries of the bush country are balata bleeding, lumbering, and washing for gold. [313 314]
All of them are carried on exclusively by Negroes.

A few sheets of balata, about a half-inch thick, are hanging from poles. The Djukas assert that the shotguns of the white man cannot shoot through the stiff rubber. We stand off about fifty feet and bang away. Strangely enough, the

/11 cont./

252 They always prepare their food with much native pepper (5)

5. All Capsicum species.

and in their soup or blaf cook various forest greens (6), which they

6. Kraroe, kalalve from the Amarantus oleraceus, taja leaves from an Arum species.

then eat with finely pounded bananas (called afoefoe) or else with cassava bread or rice dipped into it.

412 They make their spoons from a long strip of the calabash rind.
262 They are great lovers of pinda (7), a kind of groundnut, from

7. Arachis hypogoea L.

which they make various delicacies.

[439] They are particularly fond of bacon and buy it whenever they are in town, salted and smoked; they frequently take barrels of it with them into the bush and are very sparing with it.

/12/ They buy flour or meal only when they have had a bad rice harvest.

273 As drink they use rum or dram, and sometimes they make
439] from the juice of the sugar cane, which they acquire on plantations, a kind of fermented drink which they use especially at festivals. They prefer gin and beer to wine, of which they are no great lovers. The women are very fond of liqueur.

276 Many men and women smoke American tobacco in short clay pipes. The taking of snuff is a passionate habit among some.

Chapter VIII

Festivals, Games, Gods

796
273 They do not have fixed times for the veneration of their gods, and they do this only then when they are amply supplied with strong drink and want to have a gay time for three or four days.

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are
276 hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bŏembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish
226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that
[177] are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonŏto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/207 cont./

153 The teacher has the pupil turn in a circle around the
791 mortar in which has been prepared the infusion of leaves, until
787 he is dizzy. Alternately he makes him turn and "washes" his body with the infusion. Possession occurs by itself at the end of a certain number of sessions.

[296] In the practices intended to make the gita of Kumẽnti
[191] "rise," the absorption of toxic substances enters, especially tobacco juice, method employed by the Indian medicine men. But once the reflexes are created, there is no further need for these substances; the gita appears as soon as the calling procedures are used, which are of two kinds:

--Personal procedures: The man voluntarily calls on his gita while putting on the god's costume and taking a certain posture;

--Outside procedures: The gita may be released from outside either by calling the god by name or by beating the corresponding rhythm on the drum.

787 When the pupil begins to feel the gita of Kumẽnti, that
158 is first manifested by trances. We have very often been present at these attacks, which usually come on at night in the forest, but commonly also during the day. The one possessed suddenly lets go of the objects he was holding (for example, if he was in the process of eating, he drops plate and spoon), and rushes forward running through the forest howling rhythmically as if he had become an animal. His eyes are rolled upward, he no longer is conscious of his surroundings; he is not in any way threatening; these fits are totally inoffensive in spite of their
[147] impressive aspect. One sees possessed people in this state do things which are difficult to explain, such as running in complete darkness in the most impenetrable underbrush without falling or hurting themselves, or climbing up in a few seconds on a craggy rock which would have been hard to scale in full daylight.